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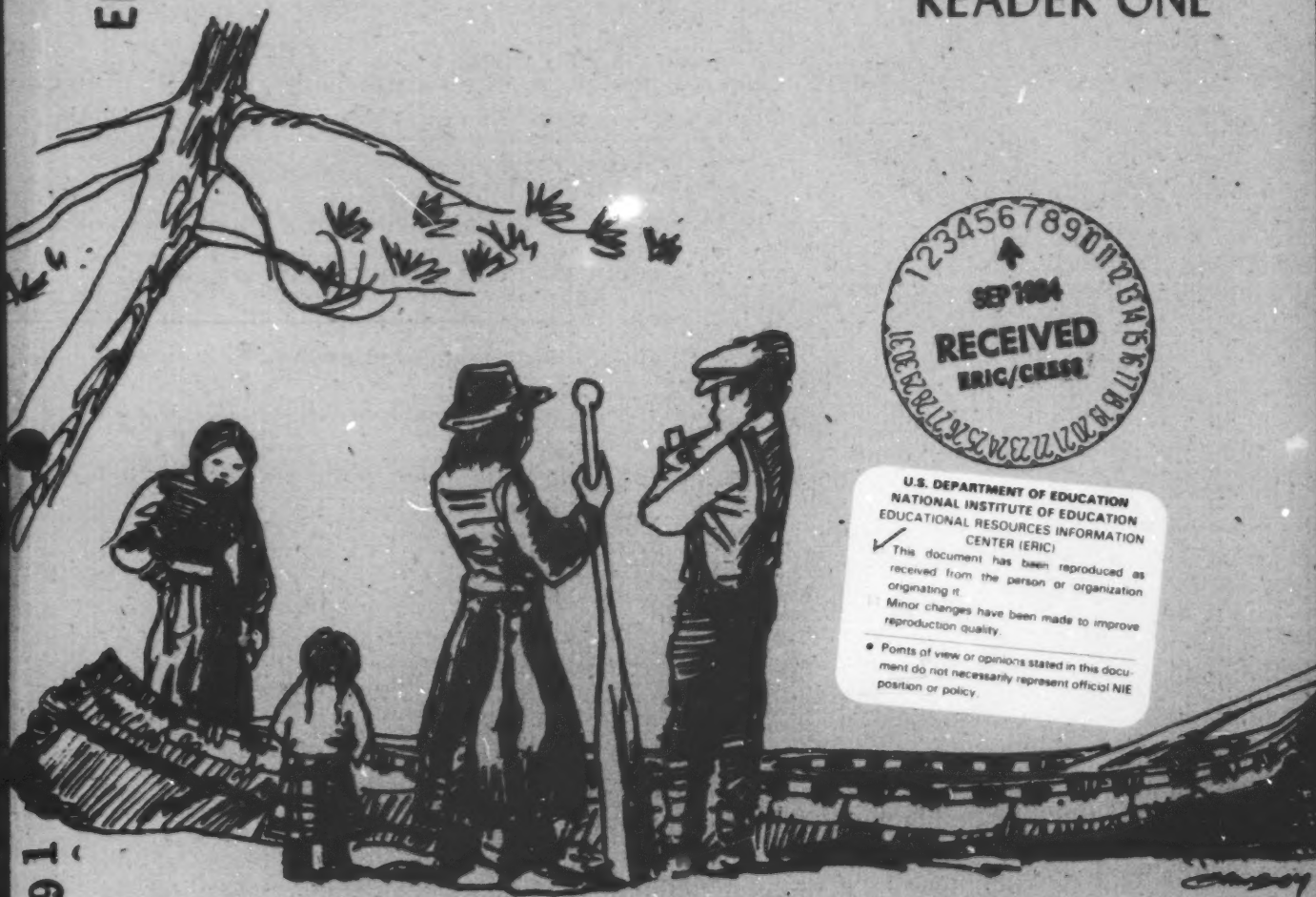
ABSTRACT

This volume is a collection of articles by American Indian educators, counselors, and administrators who seek to record the transformation of oral traditions into literate through the use of the written word. A variety of topics are discussed within broad frameworks, from the humanities to the highly technical. "Indian Learners and Public Education Policy" (D. Beaulieu) addresses issues and options by examining the roles of public agencies and tribal governments. "The Tribal Community and an Academic Philosophy" (R. V. Dumont, Jr.) examines curricular models. "History and Indian Leadership" (W. E. LaMere) discusses Indian values, identity, and treatment to trace management problems. "Tradition in a Contemporary Setting: Sentimentality or Spirituality" (E. Savilla) juxtaposes negative and positive viewpoints of traditional beliefs and practices. "Corporate Formation and Organizational Development in the Boys Club" (R. G. Archiquette) presents an historical perspective of the Boys Club of Oneida, Inc. "Theoretical Complexities of Urban Indian Education" (L. Delgado) examines community needs vs. public school policy. A review of the novel "Ceremony" by Leslie M. Silko praises its contribution to an understanding of Pueblo Indian legends and rituals. (MM)

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CONTEMPORARY ISSUES READER ONE



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CONTEMPORARY ISSUES READER ONE

A Humanistic View of Diveristy and Commonality in the Tribal and American Indian Community

A collection of writings, lectures and notes from NAES College courses, seminars, study groups, and senior papers which define the Indian and tribal perspective of their communities and their inter-relationship to American society, utilizing and integrating the literary, philosophical, educational, economic and historical academic frameworks.

David Beck, B.A., editor of this Reader, has written for various magazines. He recently completed a study of three generations of a family, combining oral history and archival research, entitled "Tradition, Culture and Family."

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INTRODUCTION: THE BEGINNINGS OF A LITERARY TRADITION

The materials within this volume represent some of the work completed under an Illinois Humanities Council grant. They are a record which charts only one kind of transformation that Indian communities in Chicago and throughout the country are undergoing. It is the transformation of the oral traditions into those of the literate through the use of the written word. It is a phenomenon of social and cultural change that was begun in the early 1800s by individuals but was not accepted as a responsibility of Indian and tribal communities until the early 1960s. Only now are the adaptation and the integration of literate systems being incorporated into the Indian community.

In this context it is important to understand foundations of knowledge within broad and diverse frameworks, from the humanities to the highly technical. This includes a discussion of education, the function of teaching, a university degree course of study, a course, or a paper. The foundation of knowledge exists without question or commentary within the western world -- it is the *raison d'être* of the university. It is necessary also to define the foundations of knowledge as they exist now and in historical frameworks for tribal and Indian communities. A co-equal relationship between the two bases of knowledge must be contained within any educational program such as NAES College to have meaning for the Indian and tribal community. That is now taking place in two areas -- the tribal community colleges in the reservations and in NAES College.

This work is being done, however, at a time when literate tradition for Indian communities, whether in Chicago or in the reservation, is in the formative stages. As individuals, such as the authors in this volume, or the educational agency, such as NAES, take on the task of writing and formalizing knowledge within a broad humanistic framework moving through many diverse cultures, that activity for learning and teaching is revolutionary. Words, the written words, become more than mechanical skills and literacy is changed to a literate tradition. It is what these papers chart out; and as such they are a first definition.

For them, the written word must be the transformation of one language and culture from the oral tradition into a different language and culture -- change taking place within more than one cultural time and space. It is the meaning of work which makes up a literate tradition and must be understood throughout the community, passed from one generation to the next. This then can communicate that personal world of time and place, an experience evoking the whole of the continuous history of community. It is then that the written word is incorporated as an integral and dynamic part of community life. Discovery is no longer an individual and isolated act but it belongs to the community.

The transformation is a quiet one marked without formal declaration or fanfare. However, there is a starting quality when, for the first time, the written word has meaning and a literary tradition is at its very beginning, for an entirely new dimension of life unfolds. One is compelled to use and control it, but it requires experimentation, testing, and practice, an arduous and slow task. Words must be formed and shaped and arranged to convey new realities or give further meaning to those to which one is already accustomed, or to delineate feelings and thoughts. It records and interprets. Recording, the easiest to learn, is building up one after the other of facts, events, and descriptions of acts. The more difficult is to make the written word interpret, stating cause, effect, justification, rationale or meaning -- the philosophic and intellectual.

The culmination of its use is a finished work, a book, a poem, an article -- an ordered set of ideas, knowledge, or experience -- either to be read or to be written. The origin, meaning and significance of it is held within the Indian community, and inter-relates the oral with the written, one language to another, one way of life to another. It is difficult work and has few rewards. But it is being carried out in every Indian community with a vitality and energy that is curbed only by the pitfalls placed in their path by the very people and institutions who had sought to educate them, whether they be Indian or white and which ignored the intellectual and philosophic traditions of the Indian communities.

This, then, is the record of one literate tradition for Indian communities by Indians, within the Indian educational institution.

Robert V. Dumont, Jr.
NAES College

INDIAN LEARNERS AND PUBLIC EDUCATION POLICY

DAVID BEAULIEU

Accurately describing the issues and identifying the options available to address the educational needs of American Indians is vitally important to the future of American Indian communities. Unfortunately for Indian communities, the description of the issues, the existence and potential of available options all emerge from sources and institutional settings which are ultimately external to the community. As a result, current definitions of issues and needs are framed in language reflecting on the experience of individual Indian learners within existing school systems, artificially categorized as a group, through the use of statistics, without questioning the social institutional functions of education and schooling relative to the community. A major assumption of contemporary Indian Education is that the "success" of individuals within existing school systems is automatically beneficial for Indian communities. Not only may such an assumption be false, but to the extent development based on that assumption is successful, it may also be antagonistic to the needs of Indian communities as functioning social entities.

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The historic use of education to implement national expansionary goals and objectives relative to American Indian tribes is well-documented. The Senate Sub-committee on Indian Education, in 1969, commented that historically national Indian education policy had two underlying motivations: 1) a self-righteous intolerance for tribal communities and cultural differences; and 2) a continuous desire to exploit and expropriate Indian lands and resources.

This confrontation has been characterized by Murray Wax as Big Tradition vs Little Tradition, of progressive expansionary ideologies usually associated with the expansion of a society, or society's social economic system or an internal social movement having an ideological base vs the self-maintaining social/cultural traditions of small folk societies or communities.

Historically, there exists no more classic an example of this confrontation than the use of education to facilitate the expansionary interests of American Society relative to American Indian tribes. The "Civilization," "Education" and "Christianization" of American Indians was viewed by the managers of European American expansion as the pragmatic or moral or to some, the cost efficient alternative to extermination.

When the House Committee on Indian Affairs met in 1818 to discuss the appropriation of public dollars for Indian education they rationalized their favorable report with a statement that began "In the present state of our country one of two things seems necessary, either those sons of the forest should be moralized or exterminated."

Though extermination is no longer advocated as the alternative to being moralized the essential theme in the House Committee on Indian Education's view of the uses of education or its alternatives has not changed in an essential way. This view today of the uses of education is generally applied to racial minorities

and/or the poor. The House Committee's report consequently could be rephrased to read for contemporary America, "In the present state of our country either those sons of the urban ghetto or welfare mothers should be assimilated and acculturated into the middle class or forever suffer the human and social ravages of poverty."

Within the last fifty years the most significant change in Indian education has not been the dynamics of the confrontation of American Society to Indian communities but the vehicle through which schooling for American Indians reflects "Public" purposes and goals. Today not only are almost all American Indian school-age children going to school but over 90% are enrolled in state controlled and operated public school districts. For the vast majority of American Indian communities the system of educational governance as well as the social/cultural and political/economic system in which governance is imbedded is ultimately external to Indian communities. Though individual Indian learners daily go to schools located, for the most part, in their own communities, the distance between the definers and providers of schooling and the receivers is extensive and growing.

Educational issues and needs related to the relative success or failure of an individual learner within any school setting is a distinctly different question than the educational needs of Indian tribes or communities as functioning social cultural and/or political legal entities.

Community based educational issues broadly and rather simplistically concern the purposes and objectives of education and consequently the content or curriculum of the school. In a related sense it also concerns the nature of education as a social institution within a community whose boundaries are not strictly limited to the territory of the school but are coterminous with the community. In this sense community based education is ultimately

dependent on uniquely local social and political process to define and provide for the socialization and education of community members.

The need to identify community based educational issues is not an exclusive concern of Indian communities. While Indians have for the most part been totally assimilated into the structure of American Public education as well as its related economic system and structure, a number of other peoples and communities in the United States are finding themselves as communities similarly confronted by Mass Public Education.

Within the last twenty years, Public Education has become more massive as the locus of control has become further and further removed from local communities generally. Consolidation of rural American school districts, increasing federal programmatic and fiscal involvement in public school districts generally, mandatory desegregation of urban neighborhood schools, have all impacted on public education to increase the social and political distance of what is "Public" and Public Education away from communities.

Interestingly, when the coeducation of Indian students with non-Indians in existing public school systems was first proposed and implemented, the "educational" reasons asserted for such a policy are similar to those asserted for the desegregation of urban schools in that racial minorities would somehow benefit in an acculturative manner from their coeducation with white pupils.

Given the nature of public school governance in the 1920's, such a policy enabled many Indian students, particularly in reservations, which had a significant immigration of non-Indians caused by the implementation of the Land Allotments Policy, to go to school for the first time within or close to their communities. Today, the assertion of the same reasons has had a different impact on not only Blacks but other minorities relative

to where they go to school.

What seems as an interesting contradiction at first glance, may not be a contradiction at all but reflect different stages in the overall growth and development of Mass Public Education.

Because American Indians are almost entirely assimilated structurally as individuals and communities into modern American public education, a central point of analysis of contemporary Indian education should reflect that reality. Solely emphasizing the historic role and responsibility of the Federal government or the political legal prerogatives and the rights of tribal government or the "required input" of parents, all too often avoids analysis of the central stage around which federal dollars, Tribal consent and parental input have been and are structurally integrated.

Without identifying and focusing on the most consistent theme of National Indian Education policy of the twentieth century, which has been the transfer of a primary responsibility in Indian Education to state operated and controlled public school districts, we may view the accomplishments of the last ten to fifteen years in Indian Education with regard to increased federal programmatic and fiscal involvement in Indian Education and mandatory parental and/or Tribal input into the educational process as significant events marking a return to local control.

However, these very same events can be identified to mark a classic example of social reform which has functioned to strengthen and further entrench public education into Indian communities broadening its overall impact on the future of Indian youth and consequently, the future of Indian tribes and communities.

As already indicated, the Senate Sub-committee on Indian Education identified two underlying motivations to National Indian Education policy, historically; 1) a self-righteous intolerance

for Tribal communities and cultural differences; and 2) a continuous desire to exploit and expropriate Indian lands and resources. The use of the word "historically" seems to suggest contrary to reality that contemporary public education of Indian children today does not have the same purposes and objectives as the policy which coercively sought public education of Indian children as its ultimate objective. The contemporary system and structure of public education, however, does not easily reveal these purposes and objectives.

Historically, it is easy to mark the events and note the speeches associated with a coercive policy to achieve the structural assimilation of Indian individuals and societies into American economic and legal structures and collaterally, American Public Education. It is less easy to see the long-term functioning of large American social institutions which are formally structured within and around formally autonomous societies. What is particularly interesting is that Mass Public Education, particularly in its functional relationship to American economic and political institutions, which also intrude and surround Indian communities, need not assert antagonistic motivations to ultimately function to exploit and expropriate Indian lands and resources. Nor need public education assert negativistic or ethnocentric notions regarding Tribal communities or cultural differences to significantly influence the acculturative process of a community's young. In fact, its very existence and intrusion takes significant control or involvement in the socialization process of a community's young people away from community members. If the objective of a community is relevant and meaningful change and adaptation the community must effectively have "control" with regard to its own young people in their socialization and education.

Confusing and confounding the issues considerably is a process of reform internal to large social institutions which gives

the illusion of responsive and fundamental change.

For example, as more and more formally disenfranchised cultural minorities have been structurally integrated into public education, public education has been confronted by these communities regarding the negative images within the curriculum and minds of the teacher concerning their group and also the need to have public education reinforce and facilitate the development of native language, values and customs which are community based. Through a process of benevolent reform public schools have attempted to eliminate negative and racist attitudes from classroom materials and developed human relations and sensitivity programs for teachers and have introduced under the title of Multi-cultural education curriculum content "sensitive and relevant" to cultural minorities.

There is a magnet school in St. Paul, Minnesota in which they bring in Indian, Black, Mexican, Jewish and other children from all over the city on a strict quota system. To reflect the cultural uniqueness of each group they offer a multi-cultural curriculum and school program. However, they teach culture not as a value but as fact. On certain days Mexican Americans may be recognized; on other days American Indians or Blacks, etc. Each group being recognized, the children write down in their notebooks the fact of culture for storage and retrieval.

The issue of culture is not the fact of culture, to be able to say or remember what the custom is or was. The issue of culture is what we believe in, what we value, and how we behave socially with others who believe, value and behave in the same way.

Public education is a powerful device in society, particularly if we think of it in a broad sense as a social institution and not just the school. We must take into account the entire sociali-

zation process of young people, what they see on T.V., the amount of time spent with parents and grandparents, the nature of their play and activities and of course, the school. How can an American Indian child learn his language and his culture if the people -- his parents, grandparents and other relatives as well as other community members spend less and less time with their young people. Indeed the style of social interaction of parents, relatives and other community members with young people is as much a part of a culture as is the content of what is learned through the interaction.

There was a library project on a South Dakota Reservation which serves to illustrate this point. A number of young adults thought that the library should serve to store information about customs that were fast disappearing as older Tribal citizens were dying. In one particular case, an old woman was identified because she was the only local person who still knew how to tan deerhides in the "old way." It was thought the project should videotape the woman demonstrating the custom. When the old woman was approached she first refused. After some talk she agreed to do it provided that if it was to be videotaped that young people also be videotaped as they watched and as was traditionally allowed, to participate and that the language of the event be Lakota.

What the old woman was concerned about was not the custom of how to tan deerhides in the "old way." At any rate, as the teacher long ago knew, the old way had become the old way because the new way was better, more efficient, with a lot less odor. What the old woman was concerned about preserving was the style of interaction between old and young in the learning process and not the particular topic of the lesson.

Concerning language maintenance, how can an Indian child

learn his language if he doesn't use it when young, learning as he learns language not only the words but the meanings of words and phrases which carry through human communication the almost indescribable link of understanding, metaphor and symbol which binds human societies and communities together socially.

Today, young Indian people are being taught native language in elementary, secondary and post-secondary institutions. Though one can learn translation of words from one language to another, it is extremely difficult to understand the cultural and social meaning of the native language communication in such settings separated from the cultural and social setting which determine the context for the cultural use of the language.

If culture is an issue in Indian education we are talking about something which is much more serious than the development of a curriculum package on how to make moccasins, etc.

Though a serious issue, culture is not the only issue facing American Indian communities which involves public education.

The political/legal and social/economic needs of tribes are as vital an issue as culture. Given the current structure of Indian Education and reality of the social/economic structure of most Indian reservation communities, significant community based educational issues emerge when public education is successful in its internal reform regarding the improvement of the achievement of Indian learners with school systems.

If we were successful in our current efforts and found that every Indian student graduated from high school, obtained vocational skills or went on to college and obtained professional skills the community should ask for whom and where will these students work. If a community's young people leave their communities to work in Denver, Los Angeles, Minneapolis, or Chicago, to

what extent has education benefited or functioned in the interests of the Indian community? If a community's young people find employment in federal and state institutions or for large corporations which have traditionally stunted by their intrusion, viable non-dependent self-determination and development, the community should ask to what extent has education functioned in the development of uniquely tribal, social/economic and educational institutions which by their locus function ultimately in the interests of a community.

Much has been written and said about the current political structure of Indian tribal government organized under the Indian Reorganization Act. The criticisms are of two types: 1) whether American style democracy is appropriate for Indian tribes in that it is an imposed system of government contrary and at odds with traditional tribal political institutions; and 2) whether democracy as a system of government for peoples in a colonial economic situation, poor and dependent on external social institutions, will function ultimately through voting in the interests of the larger society contrary to the long-term interests of a community.

Nevertheless, "democracy" is directly dependent on the extent to which voters are educated about the form and structure of political institutions to which they are involved and about the nature of issues to which they must cast a vote.

Despite the political system of choice for any particular tribal community, education must reinforce these political institutions through education. Though public systems often will reform their school programs to allow for cultural studies these systems are not easily convinced of the need to provide community based history which describes the reality, from a community perspective, of a community's social experience over time. Nor will existing public school systems require Indian youth to learn with

the same authority to which civics courses are required, about the constitution and bylaws of their tribal government, its history or the vast body of information in Federal Indian law, which defines the political legal context and limits of tribal government and the rights and responsibilities of Indian individuals as citizens of their tribe, state and country.

The reason for this extreme resistance on the part of public schools as state controlled and operated institutions is that state governments have a vested interest in the destruction of Indian political institutions which operate with distinct jurisdictional boundaries, within the limits of State government. Large social institutions will reform only to the extent that they do not do violence to primary objectives.

In describing the responsibilities of Tribal governments in Indian Education which appears basic to the integrity of Tribal government jurisdiction and Tribal constitutions, a major study by ACKCO on the impact of Federal funds for local education agencies enrolling Indian children stated:

"Indian tribes, not states, have the primary responsibility for educating Indian children within tribal jurisdiction. Indian tribes are sovereign and retain all rights of sovereignty except those which have been specifically taken away. There has been no relinquishment by Indian tribes of the right to control the education of Indian children . . ."

Hence, the involvement of the BIA in the education of Indian children has not been in lieu of state responsibilities but rather in lieu of tribal responsibilities.

Virtually all sources of specifically Indian-related educational dollars which come into reservation schools require some form of Indian parental or community input. In some districts the amount is considerable.

To have input on significant portions of a school district's budget without other forms of input which set and determine the parameters, limits and context of budgetary input, control has little real meaning. The determiners of school codes, textbooks standards, teacher certification rules, or retirement policies, compulsory attendance rules, etc. presently limit the relevance and authority of all Indian input.

It is this realm of input and control which will determine the future and relevance of Indian community based education. The ingredients to enable this input to be effectively implemented have been developing with Indian reservation communities and tribes for many years. They include many reservations, tribally-chartered and Indian-controlled community colleges, tribal education departments, tribal curriculum development projects, contract schools, tribal council education committees, and Indian teacher-training projects. Some tribes are also beginning to develop education codes and are attempting to renegotiate the terms whereby state and federal school systems will be allowed to operate with the boundaries of reservations.

What is necessary at this moment in the history of Indian Education, and Indian reservation development, and Tribal self-determination is to integrate the potential of all of these programs and ideas.

THE TRIBAL COMMUNITY AND AN ACADEMIC PHILOSOPHY

ROBERT V. DUMONT, JR.

The Bachelor of Arts degree from NAES is designed to provide the student with a professional capability in a community or organizational setting. The program is community based and focuses on the role of the individual and the development of his/her professional or technical skills within the community context.

NAES Catalog 1981-82, pg. 4

Academic content in the major areas of study, core seminars, and select courses is defined by the diversity in the culturally different qualities of tribal life in each site and the unique way in which the tribes and communities are organized as social, economic, and governmental entities. Commonality is the experience, skills and knowledge across sites in the contemporary and historical perspectives of Indian policy and the interrelations to tribal life in community development, education, and human services. As the specific is matched to the general, the breadth of formal learning is contained in the core seminar of each major area of study; within the

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major, the student determines the scope of learning, refined in the five study units of each major; and as that learning proceeds it is applied in the professional development defined by the student's work. These three elements of study with additional investigation and research provide the basic framework in which the student carries out the major field project, integrating the formal study and work of the profession as a part of community function and process.

The general areas of curriculum which contain the commonality of the Indian experience have been completed, however they need to be refined so that they are interrelated to the specific diversity of tribal life as it exists in the sites. It is the latter, as a formal part of curriculum, which has not been systematically developed beyond the informal systems established by each resident faculty. The identification, development, collection and integration of these materials -- site specific knowledge -- is a fundamental part of this academic years work and is the subject of this paper.

That the site specific knowledge in the curriculum has not yet been fully developed and is only in the beginning stages is directly related to the NAES standard of not determining what is appropriate for a community. In the preceding years, considerable work was completed in the relationships between institution and site, handled for the most part by the resident faculty, who are members of the site communities where they work. Because academic structure has a built in flexibility this allowed for the necessary alterations and shifts to take place in order to meet community standards while maintaining the academic. It was a slow process and some of that work is still taking place. As a result, each site is structured somewhat differently as to how academic program is managed. As work proceeds in the development of curriculum around site specific knowledge, that qualitative difference determined by the uniqueness of tribe and community will be maintained and institutionalized.

The first step requires an addition to the basic institutional objectives (Catalog, pg. 4). Since this involves a policy decision

by the Board of Directors, for the purposes of this paper, it is recommended that the added objective be framed as follows:

To provide a quality educational environment for the student to develop within a historical framework, knowledge and understanding of the social, governmental, economic, and educational foundations of the student's community.

The adoption of this will not necessarily extend the area of work as much as it will refine the base of learning upon which NAES is founded.

The formulation of this objective came about from an examination of the substantive content of the degree program as it evolved and as it is now transacted in the tribal-reservation site. Substantive content is the precise delineation of the body of knowledge, skills and experience which make up the majors and the degree; contained also is the justification and defense by academic standards. Although it has been defined generally, the particulars of it have not. Development has proceeded slowly in this area because NAES as an academic entity is on the fringe of the academic community; and the NAES degree does not lend itself readily to interpretation and definition by conventional academic standards, much less the delineation of substantive content.

In NAES, the two critical points of difference are the use of a system of instruction applied to the resolution of issue or problem and that this takes place not wholly within an academic setting but within a community setting where the issue or problem to be resolved is a part of student's work as well as study. A further complicating aspect is that the community is tribal in whose traditions there is no relationship to the academic and the bodies of knowledge therein. Academic is related to tribal only indirectly through disciplines such as anthropology and history where the tribal is the subject of study. The resulting studies, data, and resources do provide a substantial body of relevant knowledge once appropriately interpreted and integrated in the NAES system.

It must be noted that the work in developing a functional

relationship between the two communities as co-equals began only in this decade, and it is in the most elementary and first stages. Tribal community colleges are carrying out a major part of this work at the associate of arts level; and NAES is pioneering it at the Baccalaureate. The hallmark of the relationship is full accreditation so that the community college or NAES is a free standing institution of higher education comparable to any other within the academic community but operates in the tribal community. Candidacy within accreditation, which NAES and many of the tribal community colleges now have, is the first step. In the work which goes into the accreditation process, a basic element is the precise delineation of the substantive content of the degree.

THE DEGREE

The curricular work entailed in implementing the objective so that the site specific knowledge can be integrated into the degree model has four primary functions and areas of work to be completed for each site. The first is to define the social and historical development of a particular tribal community from the perspective of that group. The second is to define from the tribal perspective the interrelations of that development to Indian policy, regional and national. Third is to define how the dynamics of these two factors are interrelated to the national or universal phenomena. Fourth is to define how these three components shape community function and process at any point in time and, consequently, determine future growth and development. What this represents is by no means a radical or even new methodology for those who live and must do professionally competent work in the tribal community. From the academic perspective there are few antecedents, and the areas represented here are largely undefined.

These four functions may also be viewed as the base points of the degree and they must be developed from what makes up the substantive content of the degree. At present, substantive content is defined only by the common and general areas of knowledge across sites --

"the common Indian experience." It is now evident that a degree model based upon this, while functional in the urban, multi-tribal setting, is not wholly so in the tribal reservation site. There, what is required is a degree model, the substantive content of which must be "site specific knowledge" or "tribal knowledge," which is now being developed and implemented. Both degree models are composed of similar academic, tribal, and Indian elements but ordered differently as they extend from the substantive content of each degree model. This is discussed in the following sections. It is to be noted that form and procedure remains the same and revision occurs only in content.

The philosophy of the degree -- an examination of the academic and tribal traditions of knowledge out of which the degree evolves and how they are shaped to make up the degree -- has lacked concise definition since the beginning of NAES. Without it there has been a shifting focus creating confusion in curricular and instructional areas so that development has not been orderly. For example, the five units of study in each major were identified to ensure "consistency of quality" across sites for all students; but content was left to the student to determine with faculty.

In the first stages of NAES, the degree had two purposes: The first was to credential and the second of instruction, poorly defined, was conceptualized more as an attitude of work that students should have rather than a set of skills and knowledge. It did identify areas of study. As a result, the philosophy developed while the study areas were developed. That this was the methodology and that the majority of the work took place in the urban site and not in the tribal community allowed for development in two areas which currently shape academic philosophy. The first is basic competency skills, and the second is the common base of knowledge. The first area has presented no problems. The second focused upon the elements of the "common Indian experience" shared across sites, which has created a number of difficulties.

The expectation was that as academic program was carried out

in the site, it would lead to the application of site specific knowledge by faculty and students because of their residency, membership and work in the tribal community. That did not occur. Only within the past year has NAES recognized the inaccessibility and underdevelopment of site specific knowledge. This is not to say that it does not exist because it does and to a greater extent than was thought. It does not exist in viable forms. Further, the peculiar systems of tribal-federal relationships have systematically eroded the knowledge base of the tribe in providing the expert through the federal agency or employed by the tribe from outside its membership. Once having identified some part of what is contained in the site specific knowledge, only, then, did the complexity of the work in making this a functional part of the degree come into focus.

The curriculum developed around the "common Indian experience" did broaden and enlarge the scope of student knowledge and awareness. Because it was not matched through deliberate instruction to site specific knowledge, which defines the environment for student and faculty in site, the importance and value of the site specific became secondary. A primary function of education is to give meaning and definition to one's environment; but the degree model for tribal sites weighted meaning and definition of environment to be found outside the tribal community. The model allowed for it to occur within tribal community definitions indirectly or through independent student study. It is a complex and difficult learning and teaching transaction that rarely occurs independently.¹ At the same time, the very nature of the tribal community dictates that all acts,

¹Some NAES students have been able to do this. It is reflected in the field project report of R. Archiquette; but this came about only at the end of his studies in Business Administration. J. Robert's prior learning credits when assessed by the Degree Committee were placed into this framework; although they started from the site specific, in translating the experience to credit, tribal value of the experience was displaced for academic value. W. Martell's senior portfolio is an experiment to place his entire course of study into this framework and is matched to this paper.

hence, all learning and teaching, to have value must be for the welfare and maintenance of the community. When learning or instruction does not do this, both exist only as individual activity with no relationship to community and acquire minimal value.

These points of understanding could not have been arrived at if the degree model within the tribal community settings had not been pursued over the years. It is now evident that the interpretation and integration of materials from the tribally site specific to the common and universal is a teaching and learning transaction, the structure and process of which must be reflected throughout all elements of the degree. This begins by developing the site specific knowledge as the substantive content of the degree.

The problems created by having higher value, whether planned or not, on the common elements and less value on the site specific knowledge are endemic to any educational relationship to tribal communities. As NAES moves beyond the conventional relationships, it is important to examine the differing aspects of the common Indian experience as they are presently used in the degree. In the revision of the degree for tribal sites they will remain but in a different order and significance. They must extend from the site specific knowledge, to enhance and give greater clarity to that.

At the outset it is important to remember that the degree is transacted within three culturally different tribal communities and this significantly tempers the definition and structure of the degree. The tribal community defines the framework in which the universe of experience, learning and instruction, holds value for students and resident faculty at a site. Then, the substantive content of site specific knowledge are areas in which learning is considered appropriate for the welfare of the community. That which is outside must be related to this to have functional meaning, and if it is not that learning has value only for the individual, because it is not part of the community ethos. NAES is a secondary framework defining form and procedure for the credit and degree award. In any of the three

tribal-reservation sites, the degree is transacted in this way for the entire group of students.²

The "common Indian experience" are those elements of life, work, and government which are common to all tribal groups, although a tribal group may not accept or admit to them -- definition is external. This has root meaning in the evolution of Federal Indian policy, from the first periods in which Tribes dealt with foreign nations and later with the U.S. Government in which a body of precedent law and policy was established. It is currently held within the entire fabric of Federal Indian law and policy (extensively documented) and has over the centuries structured significant aspects of life in tribal communities but not the whole of that (minimally documented).

Using this general definition, those areas within this which make up the degree and which are reflected in the curriculum are: first, Federal law, policy and programs as they evolved and are now developed which deal with the tribes as a common unit. As a consequence, a good deal of the academic and professional literature and studies, which make up the second area, also focus on common elements. Third, since all tribes are part of the national economy, they function relative to these common forces and this has generated socio-economic analysis treating tribal groups as common units. These three areas taken together make up the substantive content of the "common Indian experience" and define the primary framework in which the NAES degree has developed up to the present. D'Arcy McNickle's histories best represent this area.

²This does not occur in the Chicago site because of the urban setting and the multi-tribal student body, although students on their own may elect to structure their course of study within such a framework. The Chicago site follows a model based on the common Indian experience as a part of conventional academic structure. Although the study elements must be realigned, for the tribal site, it has and will continue to be a necessary check and balance against the sites (in which the study can easily become too specialized), ensuring breadth of knowledge.

This model also typifies the Native American study programs at universities and colleges which have emerged in the past two decades of which a good number have diminished in size or have been abolished. The refinement of this model is used in the professional schools in their special programs for Indians, e.g. law, business, welfare, education, etc. For the student it develops a broad and encompassing perspective of the Indian experience and in the professional schools develops a highly specialized set of skills, fact and knowledge. In either instance the educational perspective is limiting because the model is developed almost wholly upon definitions and substantive content external to the tribal community although it may be about them.³ It has developed a professional who is a sophisticated generalist but has limited capability and competency within the tribal community. This also explains, in part, why the majority of Indian people with professional degrees or training do not work and reside in Indian communities, and if they do generally work for the Federal agency rather than the tribal.

At different levels and in different divisions of universities and colleges, there are curricular models related to the one described above which students participate in but which are not necessarily interrelated to provide a comprehensive degree plan. This is left to the individual student to develop, which rarely occurs. Some of these models, but at a secondary level, have been used to define the elements which make up substantive content in the NAES degree.

The first of these is a model which deals with those materials and resources about specific tribes -- laws, policies, programs, literature, studies, etc.; and is a refinement of the model discussed pre-

³David Beaulieu in his NAES graduate course, "Indian History and Contemporary Federal Indian Policy," discussed these issues. His example was that of Sioux and Chippewa language instruction in the university; although taught by native speakers, it became instruction by work and definition because the cultural context of language within the community could not be conveyed. The intellectual traditions of the university defined content, structure and process for tribal intellectual traditions, which were not recognized and understood adequately enough to determine content, structure and process. The end result was a course with limited significance for tribal and academic communities.

viously. These were developed for purposes or from positions external to the community; and a considerable part of it, the community may not know exists. This typifies much of the university and professional research and study at advanced levels. A classic example of this is the majority of study and research carried out at the Newberry Library in the Center for the History of the American Indian, with the exception of the Tribal Historian program which is discussed later. At the instructional and consultative levels, NAES has used a number of people who have trained and studied in this framework. Another example of this are the texts used in NAES courses: Edward Spicer's A Short History of the Indians in the United States, in which he states, "If we are to face squarely the problem of writing Indian history it is necessary, first, to recognize the continuity of Indian societies and, second, to discover the various frames of reference in terms of which Indians view themselves and the people with whom they are in contact." (Pg. 3). Another is Rape of the Great Plains by K. Ross Toole, historian, who discusses Northern Cheyenne in great detail and Fort Peck to a lesser extent, but the work is directed at developing a defense for environmental controls in the development of natural resources and does not contain the tribes' perspective. For the purpose of the NAES degree, the model is referred to as "external tribal knowledge."

A second model utilized is that of "applied knowledge." Within the total degree plan, the Antioch concept of a term of study and a term of work outside the university best represents this area. More closely related to the Indian world but more academically refined is the work of Sol Tax and associates in developing "action Anthropology." A work reflective of the study of a specific tribe and the application of knowledge is Fred Gearing's Face of the Fox. It is from this academic model that NAES began, as did some of the university Indian study programs and out of which some aspects of Indian policy evolved. In part, McNickle's program of Tribal Historian at Newberry and tribal researchers and archivists at the Smithsonian and the National Archives developed from this. The extensions and the translations of

it into the Indian community were aspects of it that NAES used. It provided viable and necessary definitions of the tribal community in relation to other communities and societies, such as the urban and academic. It was not used as a primary model because it requires of the student the anthropological distance of objective, participant observer, which is not applicable to the NAES student who is a member of the tribal community in which the study and work take place.

A third model utilized is that of the "regional or American studies" which approaches the issue or subject of study from a number of different disciplines, including that of the Indian point of view. A text developed out of this framework is The American Indian Today by Stuart Levine and Nancy O. Lurie, which contains papers by E. Rosenthal, R. and M. Wax, and R. Thomas. These papers or the studies from which they emanate were critical in the development of the NAES degree. It has also been the model in which the NAES summer graduate seminars were developed, approaching the Indian community from philosophical, historical, religious, artistic, economics and educational perspectives. Nonetheless it has not been used extensively in the undergraduate program; however, it will be necessary to do so in the degree revisions because the approach more clearly explicates the interrelationship of peoples and social forces in particular areas of the country and in specific areas of time of which tribal communities are a part. It provides the framework for understanding the dynamics of tribal life not within an isolated social context, as is the conventional academic approach, but within a framework of socio-economic interrelationships.

Two additional models were used which are not related to Indian or tribal communities. These are the "universal" and "basic competency skills." The universal is represented by those works and studies general and classical in nature which in a variety of ways provide clarification or understanding of some part of the Indian and tribal experience. Examples of these are: Childhood and Society, Erik Erikson; The Primitive World, Robert Redfield; The Great Plains, Walter Prescott Webb; Democracy in America, Alexis de Tocqueville; Democracy and Education, John Dewey, etc. As specific items in this area are identified

they become part of the master student reading list, which is still being developed. "Basic Competency Skills" is the command of the basic tools for literacy -- writing, reading, speaking, and analytical techniques. Since NAES deals with societies from a non-literate tradition in transition to the literate, these competency skills are critical; and courses, tutorials, independent study, and special workshops have been developed to provide this instruction or review for students.

Lastly, there is the model of the "site specific knowledge," or "tribal knowledge." Simply, it is the definition of environment from the tribal point of view. Materials, resources, documents and records may be classified into three distinct but interrelated categories. The first category is made up of the oral tradition which traces the origins and classical cultural forms of the tribe to the present. The second category is made up of the written or literate tradition first incorporated at the turn of the century and adaptations still going on. The third is composed of the period of tribal-federal governance beginning in the mid-nineteenth century to the present. The materials and resources are voluminous but they are for the most part inaccessible or not processed. For example, the only formally published document of the tribes at Fort Peck by a tribal member is the Assiniboines by James L. Long and out of print. The complete claims files for a period of 1888 through 1946 are now being returned to the tribes but serve only litigation purposes and access is limited to authorized tribal members. At Northern Cheyenne all documents and records in Federal, private and regional archives have been collected and stored. They are not processed. That within the oral tradition may not exist anywhere in written form. All three of the categories, briefly described here, taken together make up the site specific knowledge of a given tribe; and it is the model upon which the substantive content of the degree is to be based for tribal sites. Accepting this will require a different approach to development and instruction. It will be a degree model which will have greater significance for students and tribe.

In each site the study group operates basically as a part of the tribal community since resident faculty and students are members. Examining curricular development in the site, three factors are common. First, the documents, data, and records that would make up the archival system of a tribe are not established, even though their histories are highly documented because of the Federal trust relationship. Second, specific knowledge, facts and materials of the history of the tribe have not been utilized in instructional formats for tribal members. Three, the subjects of the archival materials are complex because of the cross-cultural framework in which they must be interpreted. In differing degree for different periods and eras this has been completed through a number of academic disciplines and professions but not by the tribal community. Lastly, these materials have not been utilized by tribal members to assist in the resolution of issue and problem except through the use of the external expert consultant or agency.

In Fort Peck where the curricular model is being developed, two trimesters have been devoted to this work. Although it was not specifically defined at the beginning, work and study was concentrated in the third category defined previously, and to a limited degree utilized resources of the second category. Research, instruction, and development proceeded concurrently as the study group attempted to chart out a general framework of the legislative-legal history of the Assiniboine and Sioux tribes and the Fort Peck Reservation from 1851 to the present. At the same time, attempt was made to carry out a socio-economic analysis. Regularly, current issues of Tribal governance arose which the study group attempted to understand and resolve by referring back to the other studies for the fact analysis. Interestingly one of the major topics occurring during this time was the settlement in the U.S. Court of Claims for 9 million dollars over the maintenance of trust responsibility by the U.S. Government for lands in the present reservation boundaries established in 1888 until 1946. When the claims settlement was announced, the NAES study group was the only group on the reservation who had even a general understanding

of the substantive content of the claims. This had come about by identifying, securing, and studying documents and records of this period. Currently, because of this, the study group is playing a major role in the development of the distribution plan for the Tribe. The NAES student who is a council member has been given full authority for the development of that plan at Tribal Government level, because of expertise and knowledge.

The work was slow and disjointed because of lack of access to basic resources, not knowing basic resources, working in uncharted areas, and the absence of expertise in certain areas. Resource materials took up to three months to arrive; and the closest small, large library is 300 miles away. Nonetheless, in pulling together the substantive facts and data of Fort Peck and matching to the group understanding of Tribal knowledge, in terms of academic learning and instruction, it was the first time that this had occurred at the Fort Peck Reservation. A first volume of selected archival materials is being completed for local distribution, and the study group is working with the Tribe for the development of a permanent archival system.

In Northern Cheyenne the Tribal government has collected and stored all archival materials, but they are not processed. The resident faculty, through the local tribal college, is developing a format to process the materials and integrate them into tribal college curriculum. It is planned that tribal members who will carry out the processing will be NAES students.

In Chicago, part time personnel has been brought on staff through ACTION for a search function in the research libraries and other sources in Chicago as an extension of work in the sites. A series of training seminars are being developed in research methodologies and document retrieval for faculty and staff; the first is to be conducted in late January, 1981, by a lawyer with background in Indian law, and a historian with extensive background in the history of Indian policy. These are coordinated with the resources and research functions of the Center for the History of the American Indian, Newberry Library.

The work described is exploratory. The conceptual frameworks developed here have been completed to bring the NAES degree into a perspective which links the academic and the tribal. That is no easy task; and what is reflected in the paper is not conclusive but an attempt to complete first definitions. The different elements of the academic models which make up the NAES degree are as follows: the common Indian experience; external tribal knowledge; regional and American studies; applied knowledge; the Universal; basic competency skills; and site specific knowledge or tribal knowledge.

HISTORY AND INDIAN LEADERSHIP

WILLARD E. LAMERE

INTRODUCTION

American Indian Leadership, at the present time, is threatened by history. The Indian is subject to great inner pressure in leadership roles. Tribalism and tradition have not prepared him for aggressive competition because traditional Indian roles have been suppressed by the outer dominant society.

Indians have not developed forceful or clear-cut economic goals. Throughout history, the tribes were never taught European land value or land management, land title, possessory rights or citizenship rights. Instead, they were isolated from the very values which would have schooled them to view these rights as a tool for competition. There was no place to turn except to their traditions, but these, too, were overshadowed by the controlling forces.

His lack of economic goals relegated the Indian to the social dysfunctions publicized by historians: poverty, welfare, alcoholism and dependence on outer society to help solve his problems. Although in today's world blame is laid at the door step of poverty, the real

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issue is the historical isolation of the Indian from the dominant society.

Historically, the Indian did not sit on committees to direct school systems, plan strategy for village or city functions or assist administrators of businesses and commercial agriculture. Opportunity does exist throughout the United States, and the American Indians are gaining skills and knowledge, but their federally restricted background has not seasoned them with the opportunity to deal in community and economic affairs.

NEW DECISION MAKERS

The Indians have lived in two worlds which by design were wholly unequal. In order to understand, appreciate and accept this unequal role, one should look to history for comparisons. Too much research and statistical information has been compiled and written in behalf of the newly-discovered history of American Indians, by Indians and non-Indians who vainly sub-note previously published material until the authors create a treadmill of sub-noted quotations of who said what about Indians. The news media treat Indian news as Indian news. But Indian news, like Indian history, is tribal, with complex culture patterns pertaining to distinct bands of people. Only recently have the urban areas started inter-tribal and inter-community activities which will one day permit classified remarks such as "you Indians." For now, though, tribal groups must be recognized as "you Siouxs" or "you Chippewas."

Nonetheless, the general term "Indian" will be used to help identify problems inhibiting the growth of leadership. In the following comparisons of religion, work attitudes, relationship with nature, class structure, and identity, there are generalizations about Indians and non-Indians. These are made in order to create an understanding of the lack of leadership which threatens and defeats our present opportunities to compete in this modern world of qualified, competent, organizational non-Indian decision makers. Each of the next three sections of this article: Comparison of the Indian World and non-In-

dian World; Abuse of Power: The Bureau of Indian Affairs (B.I.A.); and Alcoholism/Alcohol, show root causes of Indians' present lack of leadership. A further section, Indians and Other Minorities, gives comparisons of history and how it is related to leadership among Indians and among other minorities. This article offers a different view of why we cannot respond quickly to achieve a level of performance equal to that of other minorities.

COMPARISON OF THE INDIAN WORLD AND NON-INDIAN WORLD

Ancient European mythology, which personifies the forces of nature through gods and goddesses, is enhanced with the passing of time. Greek mythology is especially highly esteemed in today's art and literary fields. Although science and Christian theology replaced mythology in prominence, all three existed on parallel courses.¹ The dominance of Christian religions in the new world subdued tribal religions, viewing them as pagan. Striking similarities of myth and fantasy survive in children's stories in all nationalities, but these myths and fantasies lack divine power. Most non-Indian churches tried desperately to supplant Indian religion, and still have not given up the effort. In an open letter to the Christian churches, Vine Deloria, Jr. writes:

Early missionaries told us the story of Adam and Eve. They went on at great length with stories of Jonah and the whale. They regaled us with the accounts of the resurrection, the Exodus, and the Tower of Babel. We recognized these stories as myths by which a people explain how they came to consciousness as a national community. When we tried to explain our myths, the missionaries grew angry and accused us of believing superstitions.²

Indian mythology, natural religion and tradition do not run

¹v.S. Thatcher, The Universal World Reference Encyclopedia: Consolidated Book Publishers, Chicago; 1966. Volume 10, p. 3457.

²Brad Steiger, Medicine Power: Doubleday and Company, Inc., New York; 1974. P. 96.

parallel courses but intermix freely, even in the children's stories. These stories contain animals with supernatural or divine powers in various tribes. Nature itself is the dominant power, "The Great Mystery." The forces of nature which Indians prayed to are dedicated to the preservation of all life, not just the civilized life. Nature today can improve land faster in a wild state than man can by science, and still maintain food for domestic cattle.³

In the non-Indian world, water is a compound substance consisting of hydrogen and oxygen in proportion of two volumes of the former gas to one volume of the latter; a fluid covering three fifths of the entire surface of the earth. Water feeds stock, irrigates crops, and provides power to generate electricity. The main use of this commodity is measured in terms of dollar value which is highly respected in a non-Indian world.

The Indian has spiritual communication with the power of water. He gives blessings for its cleansing and life-giving properties. Water is acknowledged as having water spirits. The Indian respected his water as a source for all nature. It could never become polluted. Its streams have self-cleansing capacities. Running over rocks and splashing, the water is exposed to oxygen, which is a purifier. The Indian never realized his water rights would be lost to him because he never thought in terms of individual acquisition and ownership of resources.

In the non-Indian world, most foods come from selected domesticated animals and selected seeded plant life. The farmer markets his foods for profitable resale, except for immediate needs. Wild life is, by far, less important to sustaining his food supply. The non-Indian is more interested in killing the largest and strongest animals for trophies. He makes laws to permit wildlife in many areas to be killed seasonally to keep down the population so that it won't destroy his domesticated gardens.

The Indian existed on self-sustaining natural resources such

³Vine Deloria, Jr., We Talk, You Listen: The MacMillan Company, New York; 1970. P. 191.

as plants, animals and fish; the Indian felt he had spiritual communication with all life in nature and tried to conserve and respect it; and he named his clans after the animal. Some animals were called brothers by different clans and would not be killed for food. His legends view the animal as families, trying to keep their community alive and fed. The Indian prolonged the health of wildlife by utilizing the weaker, so that extinction of species would never be the problem that it is today.

The non-Indian identifies self early with occupation. His world of work also helps him sustain the common good of his family, his country, state and government. He has freedom of occupational choice by self-decision and acquired knowledge. This is basic to his economic lifestyle. He is part and parcel of the dominant society -- religiously, politically and economically.

Non-Indians existed under human-made laws which were structured to class distinction. These class levels automatically set up competition among the people, causing them to place a high value on materialism.

As Thomas A. Bailey notes in the American Pageant, "The bells tolling every Sunday morning (1865-1900) were deceptive. The mounting emphasis was on materialism: distressing numbers of devotees worshipped 'the bitch goddess success.' Money was the accepted measure of achievement."⁴

The Indian, living with laws dictated by nature, is free of all class restraints and class levels of achievement. One cannot make a decision unless it is for the good of all. This may be one reason that the Indian does not volunteer in today's society until he knows the complete feelings of other Indians.

Throughout history the Indian existed by using his hunting skills for the common good of his family, his hunting band, his clan, or his tribal relationship. His goals were immediate and his needs

⁴Thomas A. Bailey, The American Pageant: D.C. Heath and Company, Boston; 1961. P. 548.

so simple that involved future planning was not necessary to sustain the family or tribe. His relationship to the outer society occurred by choice from himself or selection by the outer society, if they felt that they could change him.

The United States society, in its 200 years of history, invested its religious, political and economic functions in a representative authority which flowed through counties, states and up to a central government. This power of authority becomes bureaucratic as it is channelled upward to the central governing body. These levels of authority formulate political decisions and economic policy with this knowledge. The end result is vast political and economic power. Self-interest groups, in this system, are commendable and necessary, while the struggling minorities are ignored. However, these minorities can also be absorbed in these power groups, as their numbers increase.

Historically, Indians native to the American continent had no reason to deal with problems on a national basis. There were no trade markets, distribution of products, labor programs or political powers of regulation for classes to become afraid of. There were no classes. Their historical concern was always family, clan, band or tribe. All economic values of earth belonged to mother earth. Mother earth bestowed these gifts, including wildlife, to Indians, but never intended her resources to represent opportunity for material value. Mother earth, in her wisdom, will always be an adversary of technology and industrialization.

With national identity -- the non-Indian, historically, has suppressed his tribal identity throughout many years of over-population and intermarriage. Great expansion of the populace weakens blood relationship; tribalism is replaced by class distinction. Class distinction now supercedes tribal loyalty. Materialism and prestige become their immediate goals. When a person marries out of his class, he is immediately resisted by the next upper class level whose gentry is threatened. A person gains professional status by self effort, planning, study and the wise use of experience. He then becomes a

responsible and respected member of his chosen profession and, equally, can be the model to others, no matter what their nationality happens to be. He can become an accepted leader.

Historically, the Indian did not marry inter-tribally. The American Indians' religious beliefs and customs prevented marriage between persons who were closely related. Persons from one clan married someone outside of their clan group in order to keep the blood lines clear.⁵ This is extremely important to small tribal groups which have faced extinction, according to Indian history. Today, an Indian person who gains professional status and identity among non-Indians in the urban areas will find it very difficult to be accepted in the Indian urban community or reservation. Indians are reluctant to accept non-Indian leadership or Indian leadership which is too versed in non-Indian ways. Tribes will not accept leadership from a different tribe.

ABUSE OF POWER: THE BUREAU OF INDIAN AFFAIRS (B.I.A.)

On June 30, 1849, The Bureau of Indian Affairs was transferred from the War Department to the Department of the Interior. For thirty years this Bureau supplemented its authority over Indian people and their lands with military force. Virtually all the tribes were herded on reservations during these years.⁶

The treaties were guaranteed in perpetuity to Indian tribes. The lands in the treaties were never explained in accrual equity to tribal persons. Tribal leaders could never regard land as more than gifts of mother earth. This was unfortunate for tribes but fortunate for non-Indians, whose interpretation of all treaties was aberrant. Land thus controlled merely became Bureau of Indian Affairs land held a permanent abeyance.

⁵Paul Radin, The Winnebago Tribe: University of Nebraska Press, Nebraska; 1970. P. 169.

⁶Harold E. Fey & D'Arcy McNickle, Indians and Other Americans: Harper and Row Publishers, New York; 1970. P. 68.

To the American Indian, the most despotic historical ruling ever made within the Bureau of Indian Affairs is the granting of final signature approval to the Secretary of Interior, affixed to all documents for tribal nations. This is not a confirmation type signature. This existing signature is the final act of conviction. Federal control of Indian lands institutionalizes Indian land sales or use. This principle has never been imposed on other nationalities.

The Bureau of Indian Affairs structure responds to upper authority. This single authority travels down to the lower levels until it reaches the agency superintendent. The major authority of the Bureau concentrates on Indian land rights and heirship, while Indian human rights are absorbed by religious bodies which are not a part of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. At the agency level, all information is gathered from the tribal council. The council members are elected; however, the Bureau of Indian Affairs can censor the information gathered from the tribe and council members and, after interpretation, may send it up the Bureau structure where it is used for the benefit of the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

An extremely important comparison may be made here regarding the Bureau of Indian Affairs structure. In the outer world surrounding the reservations, the authority is vested from the Federal legislative governing body down to the county officials, who are elected by the people and are responsible to the people. Officers are chosen from a series of local elections conducted by local governments in which local issues are dominant.⁷ Later, national officers are chosen by voters who go to the polls to choose their elective officers. These candidates were chosen at the local elections. The two-party system sets up natural counter checks of power to control the parties' competitive nature.

The Bureau officials have no elective power and there are no regulated changes in their power. Their positions are appointive.

⁷Peter H. Odegard & Donald H. Morrison, American Government: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, Inc., New York; 1961. P. 173.

Therefore, their power over Indians is similar to the power of rulers or kings. The Bureau officials are the only representatives that the American Indians have within the federal system. This means that the American Indian exists in a world without elective power; even if he were to vote fifteen times each at all elections, nationally, he could impress no one. He is unique in that he can appear as a voter, but his issues are held in abeyance. Indians are often asked to form political forces, the same as non-Indians, but they will merely be forming a non-person voting block if they do because their issues are suspended as long as the Bureau of Indian Affairs has their heirship and guardianship of land and resources. Historically, the authority of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, the police forces and the missions which operated the schools were separate and independent of the reservation tribal councils. If the roles had been reversed during these early times and the council members had been salaried to share in the administration and responsibilities, the American Indian tribal history would have affected today's society differently.

The Bureau, historically, has always been able to censor the mental and economic strength of tribes in their reservation enclosures. This information, officially and finally, should first be property of the tribe and for tribal use before it is dispersed upward through bureaucratic channels and ultimately to non-Indian publishers. The tribes could very well use this information for their own political influence. It is ironic that, throughout history, the officials from the Bureau of Indian Affairs were the first persons called on by the local community groups to give the true picture of Indian problems in health, education and land. These officials assume a halo of sanctity as they expound on Indian problems in their lectures to unknowing non-Indian groups. They are in constant demand on official occasions.

This writer visited the Winnebago agency many years ago; he accompanied his older half-sister who wanted to put her holdings in a will. She had made a special appointment with Mrs. Merrick, an Indian staff person who would work with her concerning the will. Their conversation in Mrs. Merrick's office proceeded quickly and quietly.

I had to wait, with many tribal people, on long hard wooden benches located in a long narrow hallway. I soon discovered, when the door burst open, that I was sitting in the wrong place. A white man, in a powder blue business suit, stood in the doorway, surveying all of us with the coldest blue eyes I ever saw. All low-pitched conversation ceased, and we all seemed to wait expectantly. This agency land manager was ready to see his client load for the day.

I am one of three hundred and twenty heirs who own one lot of 32 acres near the town limits; but, because I wasn't there to ask any questions about my land, I felt very nervous and uneasy. The land agent hollered out to a man sitting down the hallway: "Fred, I'll see you first." For the rest of the morning that door remained open and the agent continued receiving his clients. I can describe it now, but couldn't at the time. Here was the highly specialized expert imparting truths to persons who did not understand the legal and technical jargon. This lack of understanding by the Indians caused the land agent to bark out fast decisions in a loud voice, seemingly shoving advice down their throats. Now because of repeated displays of superiority by agency officials, we have today's generation of Indians who mistrust all bureaus or agencies which try to help them. Today, many older Indians will not take advantage of any program, no matter how well conceived, because of this attached stigma. Indians also will not use social agencies as much in the urban areas because they were not available on reservations. Those available were church-run and would compete against each other. The important consequence here is that the Indians will not totally accept non-Indian authority as rational, even while their own tribal authority continues to diminish.

ALCOHOLISM/ALCOHOL

On March 30, 1802, under the Trade and Intercourse Act, Section 21, President Thomas Jefferson was given authority to take whatever steps necessary to prevent and restrain the vending or distribution of spirituous liquors among all or any of the said Indian tribes.⁸

⁸Lyman S. Tyler, A History of Indian Policy: U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C.; 1974. P. 42.

This law gained immediate importance and its enforcement assumed strict cumulative authority from the federal forces down through the states, counties, cities, townships, villages and Indian reservations. Strict enforcement of this law, over generations, became conflicting and frightening, causing stories of violence and disorder among the tribes.

In order to drink, the Indians were forced to hide where they could not be seen by the prying eyes of non-Indians who were anxious to report these drinking sprees. Some of the places where the Indians found it necessary to hide were in weedy creek areas, in the woods, under bridges, in cars, in cemeteries or in old abandoned buildings. Anyone seeing Indians walking in a group, with a brown bag, knew that they carried some intoxicating liquor. Immediately the local police were notified and they would respond as if some killers from the penitentiary were loose in the neighborhood. From the point of view of the American Indian, most of the officials were domineering, exerting their own plenary powers to make the native behave meekly and with compliant resignation. It might be interesting to note the following comparisons of liquor consumed by the Indian and the non-Indian.

Europeans use alcoholic beverages in their social activities, on a family basis. In their pubs, the whole family participates and the youth grow up having the balance between work, recreation, politics and religious habits firmly established in their minds. Each daily and weekly activity is planned well in advance, with great anticipation. One of their pleasures derives from liquor consumed during some part of the days or evenings at taverns, community clubs such as the Veterans Organizations, Union meetings, fraternities and sororities, ballroom gambling and dancing casinos. Alcohol is also consumed at office and factory parties, as forms of pleasure to release inhibitions. Non-Indians have suitable licensed lounges to drink in, where manners are regulated by status or management. Under this regulation, knowing that these services will always be available, there is no need for excessive drinking. Many Europeans abstain from alcohol for religious and ethical reasons. In the state of Washington, 44% of the white

pouplation gave this reason.⁹ Nonetheless, the use of alcohol was always acceptable and an indispensable part of the social lifestyle of the non-Indian world.

When the American Indian consumed liquor, his drinking had to be done where no regulation of manners was possible. The Indian drank fast as possible, for fear that he might be discovered.

In his book entitled Alcohol and the Standing Rock Sioux Tribe, James Whittaker, M.D., writes:

Alcohol was initiated and indoctrinated into the tribe as pleasurable but unrighteous; however, in their case, it was also outside the law. Nine percent of the Indian group abstained because of religious and ethical reasons.¹⁰

The entrance of the American Indian into the white society is at the lowest rung. Wilcomb E. Washburn, in his book titled The Indian and the White Man, writes:

The Indian, in his relations with the white man, rarely associates with the better class but finds his companions in the lowest and vilest of society -- men whose object is to corrupt and plunder. Indians thus learn from the superior race everything that is bad and nothing that is good. His presence in the settlement is a source of irritation and a cause of fear, especially among the better class of people.¹¹

The American Indian behavior which has been judged pathological by the dominant American society is considered, by the Indians, to be simply a form of recreation and relaxation. In his book Problem Drinking Among American Indians, Edward P. Dozier writes:

(In some cases of pathology) care must be taken to specify whose value hierarchies are being invoked

⁹James Whittaker, M.D., Alcohol and the Standing Rock Sioux Tribe: Gustavus Adolphus College, Minnesota; 1962. P. 81.

¹⁰Ibid., p. 80.

¹¹Wilcomb E. Washburn, The Indian and the White Man: Doubleday & Company, Inc., New York; 1964. P. 379.

when the costs of drinking are assessed. French authorities are convinced that drinking is a very serious problem among the Polynesian peoples, primarily because they see earnings of the native population going for heavy weekend drinking and periodic, fetetype indulgence instead of into housing and other forms of material self-improvement. Yet it is doubtful that Tahitians see their expenditures for liquor as sacrifices in the same sense as do the French, largely because, as yet, their commitment to material values is still quite tenuous. Thus, when one informant was asked why his fellows use their money for liquor instead of better housing and furniture, he laughed and said the Tahitian is likely to say: 'If I spend money for those things, I won't have any for beer and wine.'¹²

Why don't the Indians ask for help? Historically, there was no place to turn to and the man's role of warrior leader made him reluctant to have his people recognize his plight.¹³ The uniqueness of this situation, over the many years, created the social dysfunction and personality degradation which is observable in the alcoholic we see today. These very persons (Indians) who were condemned historically through their ancestral line, were definitely placed outside of the predominant social order and, thereby, became the abstract persons/groups who are now the anomaly of society and are compliantly set aside from this competitive civilization.

INDIANS AND OTHER MINORITIES

During the last twenty years there has been a constant pressure for the tribal groups to make a complete transition to white ways, as if this is a new and inspired thought -- "Join us and live." This should have been said in 1802 and the words should have been -- "Join us, we need your culture." During these past twenty years, many

¹²Edward P. Dozier, Problem Drinking Among American Indians: University of Arizona Press, Arizona; 1964. P. 83.

¹³Dan Kuzuhara, Professor in Psychology at Northeastern Illinois University. Culture & Mental Health, Native American Educational Studies (lecture on February 10, 1976).

programs were instituted by the government under the guise of self-determination for the minority. Other minorities asked the Indians for support in their programs also, but the issues were different. Indians had been forced, in the past, to change their Indian ways by not speaking Indian and by giving up their sacred ways. Some of the children were forced to attend government-supported schools in order to obtain an education, then they were expected to step into a new dominated society-structured life. Indian tribes could easily see the same forces working -- "become one of us and separate from your ways, live and accumulate." Again, I must stress an important adjunct to these claims. The Black people who were forced into the work role of America were a desperately needed work function of employment. They could not be separated, but were indispensable labor producers to commerce, industry and agriculture. Exploited as they were, and forced from their previous rich culture values, they also made their entry into the dominant society over many years, gaining skills and experience which would prepare them for opportunities they would receive in the future.

The orderly transfer of authority from the dominant society to the subordinate society can be accomplished by models of achievement which the dominant society will accept. Joe Louis, the heavy-weight boxing champion of the world, and Jackie Robinson of national baseball fame -- each transferred the authority thought process to countless youth who followed in their footsteps. Black transformation into the dominant society would be complete. They entered a culture through its competitive desires. Here is transformation the major society could understand. An extremely small minority (black) in the beginning, now standing tall and strong, is forcing its entry into society with national achievements well advertised. They have their own elementary and high schools. They have their own universities and trade schools, their own banks and church groups; they also have their active political bodies and lobbyists.

Minorities and immigrants from overseas, coming here during the past years, were already seasoned to the existing culture of class

structure and material needs. Again, their labor and technical skills were needed. Their transition needed only encouragement and opportunity. Here, assimilation would be competitive on both the racial and individual basis.

Where could the Indian go from the period that congress said: by federal law, you cannot drink in public places; by federal law, you are not to administer your lands and resources; by federal law, you are to be expelled from society and placed on reservations; by federal law, missions will attend to making you into Christians; in federal schools, you will be separated from your traditions which are heathen and should not be practiced.

In this period of 1802 to 1953, where could the Indian go? The non-Indian society did not want him, but they would also dominate the land he lived on and the religion he needed, as they put it. With the authority of his tribal tradition thus diminished, where could he go for support? Drugs would be available nationally, after the 1950s, but the cost would be extremely high. If this horrible thought gave us any pressure or stress at all, let's stop for a drink or two and think awhile.

Here was the classic introduction to the world of well over three hundred tribal Indian nations, to be exhibited on a constant basis in world newspapers, radios, movies, documents, pageants, jokes and authoritative lectures, to a cynical world audience, "alcoholism." Alcoholism now starts to engulf all nationalities; alcoholism, which the world now knows, respects no class of people.

Lyman S. Tyler, in his book titled A History of Indian Policy, writes the following regarding changes in Indian policies:

Two laws, which had been in force for many years were passed in 1953 to end discriminatory legislation relating to Indians. Public Law #281 referred to the purchase of firearms and the sale of agricultural implements. Public Law #277 concerned the sale of alcoholic beverages to Indians. The long standing Federal Prohibition against the sale of liquor off the reservations was ended. Within

the reservations, a system of local option was provided for, wherever laws of affected states would permit.¹⁴

SUMMARY

Between 1960 and 1970 the census count of urban Indians more than doubled, from 165,000 to 340,000. On the other hand, the number living in rural areas grew only eleven percent, from 380,000 to 423,000. Presidential administrations, from Kennedy to Nixon, have enunciated policies aimed at developing Indian human and natural resources on the reservations, while allowing Indians to control and administer federal assistance programs.¹⁵ In 1970 urban areas, with the aid of Indian-run not-for-profit organizations, started receiving private grants and cost reimbursable federal and state contracts to provide limited services to Indians in education, health, welfare, employment and economics.

Because of the above policies, the American Indians of today are rapidly taking over leadership roles in their own proposed programs, both on tribal lands and in urban areas across the country. Consequently, a great amount of attention is now focused on the Indian's management talent or lack thereof. Indian management pressures will be compounded further by the test imposed by the dominant society. The Indian is not in a position to take advantage of the opportunities now being made available to him. History has exacted its toll of disorganization and confusion. Simple ventures of community action and cooperation will severely test the leadership of the persons brave enough to make the transition to economic progress.

¹⁴Tyler, A History of Indian Policy, p. 181.

¹⁵Sar A. Levitan & William Johnston, Indian Giving: John Hopkins University Press, Baltimore and London; 1975. P. 2.

TRADITION IN A CONTEMPORARY SETTING SENTIMENTALITY OR SPIRITUALITY

EDMUND SAVILLA

"What is Indian about Indian painting?" is the title of the concluding chapter in Song From the Earth, by Jamake Highwater.¹ Our question above could be applied to many aspects of the American Indian experience. What is "Indian" about being "Indian?" There is no simple answer to a good question, especially when the question is so general. I propose that our question can be viewed from two approaches. One I will call "sentimentality" and the second "spirituality." Before we explore these two approaches to Native American Tradition, we perhaps need to ask ourselves, if the question is an important question, does it even need to be voiced?

TRADITION

Highwater, in Dance, Rituals of Experience, proposes: "Tribal life is so unified there is simply no need for art to communicate anything. It is only when the uniformity of social values in a group begins to shatter that meaning that the arts come into exis-

¹Jamake Highwater, Song From the Earth: New York Graphic Society, Boston; 1976.

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tence."² In R.H. Lowie's study of the Crow Indians, he states that primitive religion is characterized by a sense of the extraordinary, mysterious, or supernatural, and its religious response is that of amazement and awe; and its source is in the supernatural, extraordinary, weird, sacred, holy, divine.³ Evans-Pritchard interprets Lowie to say there is no specifically religious behavior, there are only religious feelings.⁴ Paul Radin, another American who studied the Winnebago, took much the same position: "There is no specific religious behavior, only a religious feeling, a more than normal sensitivity to certain beliefs and customs, which manifests itself in a thrill, a feeling of exhilaration, exaltation and awe and in a complete absorption in internal sensations."⁵ These three observations appear to be caught up in what we will call worship. Worship we might say is to achieve a conscious unitary response to life.⁶

Religious behavior and art were non-existent because they were possessed by a "Spirit of Tradition." They did not possess a Tradition. What Francis Martin wrote, "I belong to truth, truth does not belong to me," offers the same dynamic. To belong to Tradition we must come to a working definition of it. I simply propose the definition of the poet Octavio Paz: "Instead of being a succession of names, works, and tendencies, tradition would become a system of significant relations: a language."⁷

In a quick survey of the present day breakdown of Native Ameri-

²Jamake Highwater, Dance, Rituals of Experience: A & W Publishers, Inc., New York; 1978. P. 20.

³R.H. Lowie, Primitive Religion; 1925. P. 16.

⁴E.E. Evans-Pritchard, Theories of Primitive Religion: Clarendon Press, Oxford; 1965. P. 38.

⁵Paul Radin, Social Anthropology; 1932. P. 244.

⁶Charles Hartshorne, notes, Phil. of Rel., 1973.

⁷Octavio Paz, Claude Levi-Strauss: Dell Publishing Co., Inc., 1967. P. 148.

can communities we find that there are three general groups: reservation, rural and urban. We also find that there is a significant number who do not have a working knowledge of their tribal language. Yet, in many instances we find that where the oral language is in use there has been a loss of understanding in other areas of language, such as songs, symbols, games and customs.

We must recognize that we have a Native American art, and perhaps we can even say that we have religious behavior. We must ask the question, what does it mean to be Native American today? And in a special way that question must be posed in community education, human services, and development. Do we see tradition only as significant relations in the past; or does the meaning also live in our present daily lives, in our prayer, work, love, friendships in "All My Relations?"

In recent years we have become a people more involved in a quest for funding, for the different projects needed to fulfill the needs of our people. Perhaps in doing so we have neglected the root meaning of our relationship to the sun, earth, wind, water -- all of creation. At times we put more energy into worshipping "Mother Budget Proposal" than we do in celebrating "All Our Relations." This indicates a shift in our life. It is not necessarily meaningless, for even the proposals are rooted in the survival of many of the people. Yet, we must examine this vision of life we are living. At times we have separated the meaning of tradition from our present daily lives. We have tokenized tradition by not making the transition.

SENTIMENTALITY AND TRADITION

This shift on our lives may be viewed as a movement from living in the spirit of tradition, to many of us wanting to possess a tradition. We find ourselves looking back in time and getting caught up in nostalgia for the good old days. Some of us even try to live like 1492 never happened; we may live a life that retains remnants of the past; or we may use external signs to acknowledge our Indian-ness. We may also get caught up in stereotypes, such as being very

comfortable with the idea that Indians are "non-competitive" or we are on "Indian time." In short, we become sentimental. There are many dangers in seeing tradition in a sentimental way. For example, our present lives may become meaningless if we are unable to make connections between the meaning and significance of tradition and our present work. We reduce worship to time instead of allowing our lives to be a conscious unitary response. We may even reject our brothers and sisters because they do not live on a reservation or do not do what we think makes an Indian.

There is a need to begin making connections and to begin finding the meaning and significance for our present daily life. We need to examine stereotypes that we may believe in; for example, the image of the Indian as non-competitive. We probably can no longer afford to support or even suggest such a symbol. For even a quick survey of inter-tribal life shows that games and life events play an important role in tradition. In Games of North American Indians, the examples show that many forms of games played significant functions in varying ways and degrees in the life of Native American communities, from foot races to hand games. More important is the relationship that exists between games and ritual. Besides having parallel rhythms and movements, games laid the foundation for ritual. In support of this relationship The New Games Book states: "When we stand opposite each other in a game, it's not because we are, in fact, opposites. When we find ourselves on one particular side, it's not because we feel that one side is any better. We make the separation so that we can discover a new union."⁸ This, perhaps, articulates what we experience in many of our games. We are competitive in order to experience union in "All Our Relations."

"Indian time" more often than not is used indiscriminately as a popular excuse for being late. What is Indian time? In examining

⁸Andrew Fluegelman, ed., The New Games Book: Dolphin Books, New York, 1976. P. 42.

how Native Americans do apply the concept of time it can be observed that it is very attuned to relationships. There are natural relationships between the ceremonial cycles, the planting and harvesting. The awareness of others very much governs the daily events of the people. Instead of awakening to an alarm clock the dawn was the messenger. Certain ceremonies take place in the boundaries of sunset and sunrise. The daily routine was attuned to nature and the best time to work and play. In a way, the meetings all started on time when everyone was there, and the sense of the last one coming because one overslept was not usually the cause of being late. The meaning of Indian time loses its beauty when it becomes the cover-up for our own insensitivity to others and creation.

If we choose to see tradition in a sentimental way like the stereotype examples, then trying to find the meaning and significance of past events for life today would not occur. We would find ourselves saying, "If things were only like they used to be," or "This is the traditional way things should be done." This does not make the connection to our contemporary life and we stop having "visions," because we are not ready to do the work it takes for a community to share in a renewed vision. Leslie Silko in her book Ceremony writes, "Long ago when the people were given these ceremonies, the changing began, if only in the aging of the yellow gourd rattle or the shrinking of the skin around the eagle's claw, if only in the different voices from generation to generation, singing the chants. You see, in many ways the ceremonies have always been changing."⁹

SPIRITUALITY AND TRADITION

If we choose to examine tradition in light of spirituality we are no more and no less than doing meaningful living; that is, religion realized in daily life.¹⁰ It is the work of making the transi-

⁹Leslie Silko, Ceremony: Signet Books, New York, 1977. P. 132.

¹⁰David Steindl-Rast, "Christian Confrontation with Buddhism and Hinduism" (Center for Spiritual Studies). P. 2.

tion of the meaning and significance of Native American tradition from one of which we possess into a living spirit of tradition that possesses us. In the area of community education, human services, and development we need to not just accept the programs of those who fund our projects; but we need to create services that allow our people to play, live, work, and pray in the spirit of tradition. Indian hospitals become not just places where Indians go, but they reflect in structure and attitude a caring, healing community. Education is not just time spent in school but becomes a lifelong process that involves the whole community on many levels.

Another aspect of Native American life that appears to be intertribal in many areas is the dynamic of purification and healing. If we are to make the transition from sentimentality to spirituality, we need to rid ourselves of a good deal of hatred and bitterness, the things that continue to keep wounds open. Then, the healing of the heart of Native Americans has begun and the process is long. There will always be a scar, but our life is made whole again. If we take the time to be healed we will be better able to face the dangers that at times threaten the spirit of traditions. We will also be able to listen anew with the new tribes that share this space and time with us, and we will be better able to guide and guard the spirit of life. If something is dead, we bury it with respect; but as long as there is life we nurture it to help it come to its fulness.

We need to worship anew to have a conscious unitary response to life. Tradition in a contemporary setting could easily become sentimental. If tradition is to be seen in a contemporary setting we must see ourselves as very much a part of tradition whether we live on a reservation or not, whether we speak the language or not. Language is not simply a matter of words. It involves many symbols, relationships and experiences we share as Native Americans. The gift of our birth is to celebrate all creation, natural and cultural, in "All Our Relations."

In the Cheyenne tale Maheo, Paula Gunn Allen reminds us that even the All-Spirit, whose being was a universe, possesses limita-

tions on power as well as a sense of proportion and respect for the powers of his creatures. "Now I must have help if I am to create more."¹¹ We all have a responsibility to continue to create our world. We must see our individual visions anew in light of the vision of all Native American peoples, and that we are developing an inter-tribal community.

¹¹Paula Gunn Allen, "The Sacred Hoop," Cross Currents: Vol. XXVL, no. 2, Summer, 1976. P. 146.

CORPORATE FORMATION AND ORGANIZATIONAL DEVELOPMENT
IN THE BOYS CLUB

ROBERT G. ARCHIQUETTE

The idea of non-profit corporations on tribal lands held in federal trust was both innovative and controversial in the Great Lakes region in 1974. At that time almost all tribal governments had assumed that anything that appeared on their land, such as new programs, social clubs, and social events had to be somehow influenced or outright controlled by the tribal governments. Furthermore, any activity of community and social significance that did not involve federal funds was subject to tribal council scrutiny as to whether this was in the tribe's best interests. The concept of a private corporate entity providing social services apart from tribal government interference and intervention was never before attempted on the Oneida Reservation in Wisconsin.

The attempt to formalize and develop a private youth service organization without government funds was an entirely new experience for those who contributed to its establishment. In addition to

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uncertainty about its legality and their own capabilities, there was tribal council resistance to a service that openly challenged existing youth programs. Uncertainty about council sanctions, however, did not flag the enthusiastic support that was generated throughout the early development stages. "The Boys Club of Oneida, Inc." is here presented from an historical perspective.

The Boys Club of Oneida, Inc. is a private non-profit corporation located on the Oneida Reservation in Northeast Wisconsin. Contrary to popular belief, it has no formal relationship to the tribe nor is it federally funded. Its target population is school aged youth between 7 and 18 years of age. Its services include recreational, athletic, and coordinated activities with local area schools concerning truancy, delinquency, and parent advocacy. It is also a member of the United Way of Brown County.

The idea of a private club began in Spring, 1974. After a series of break-ins, vandalism, and disrupted homes due to a change in Tribal Housing Authority administration, there was considerable tension in the community. The loss of homes forced dislocations from long-standing communities throughout the reservation, the complete shutdown of tribal facilities at night due to population shifts and vandalism, and inevitably, a large amount of idle time for young children. The consequence was that large numbers of unsupervised teenagers roamed the streets and created extensive property damage and physical harm to others.

Out of desperation, tribal programs were hastily formed to combat the problem. One effort was the Neighborhood Youth Corps, funded by the Bureau of Indian Affairs with a modest budget and an equally modest administrative plan. Another was an expansion of the Youth Work Experience program, administered by the tribe's CETA program. Still another was the re-activation of the Oneida Athletic Club, funded directly by the Tribal Council. All of these efforts were simultaneously in operation, but the problems in the streets and schools persisted.

Each tribal program was federally funded and government project officers provided "paralegal programs" which were considered universally appropriate for all youths and all tribes. No community input was requested from parents, schools, and other community interests as far as anyone can recall. These programs were suddenly on the scene, complete with "directors" hand-picked from within the tribal patronage system. The qualifications for directors failed to mention and/or emphasize skills and experience in human relations. BIA, HEW, and Department of Labor philosophy was that to keep young people occupied -- even in meaningless activity -- would solve the problem once and for all.

In Spring 1974 parents and interested community residents wanted something done according to their wishes. A small influential nucleus of interested people eventually emerged. They felt that the local problem should be handled by local people who knew its causes. Furthermore, they had expressed an urgent need for local control and autonomy so that this situation would be handled effectively. An independent organization, beyond the jurisdiction of tribal control, was the consensus of their concerns.

A committee was formed to determine a formal organization that would address the problems of its young people in an autonomous way. For a short time, this activity created conflict with tribal officials because no one understood how such an organization on the reservation could legally function apart from tribal government and without federal funds. The idea of a non-tribally controlled youth organization was routinely challenged at monthly council meetings until those who formulated the idea realized the futility of their efforts. They eventually came to understand that it was not necessary to discuss what they wanted to do with tribal officials. The committee then settled on the idea of a Boys Club.

After much consideration and discussion of moral issues amidst tribal pressure to drop the idea of autonomy, the Boys Club of Oneida was considered to be a worthy venture. Support mounted rapidly as

the committee worked on the definition of the new organization's purpose, goals, and objectives. The committee, originally composed of five members, rapidly expanded to eight. It included police officers, clergy, tribal managers, parents, and a local physician.

As the committee gained credibility as a responsible group, a national organization offering affiliate membership and recognition appeared. The Boys' Clubs of America approached the committee and offered membership and affiliation. The committee was both flattered and cautious, but willing to listen. Surprisingly, they would be allowed complete freedom to adopt their own purpose, objectives, and range of services to serve local needs with full community input. The price for affiliation and membership was also surprising. Once legally formed, the new Boys Club would be required to display and consistently advertise its affiliation to the national organization and would be subject to general but flexible supervision from the Boys' Club of Green Bay. There was much discussion over the proposal both pro and con, but the ultimate concern was for a quality service without federal regulations and with ability to respond effectively to community needs. Eventually the decision was made to accept the affiliation.

Shortly thereafter, the cumbersome process of incorporation and acquiring tax-exempt status was completed with national recognition, public support, and a hard-working fund-raising committee. An unrestricted grant from a private foundation was secured, with minimal funding of \$10,000. This, plus a strengthened institutional base in the community, caused more committees to be formed to develop the community youth services. The Board of Directors was then properly installed, an executive director was hired, and full operations were begun.

Beginning in October 1974 and throughout the first year, youth participation through club membership was higher than expected. The idea of club membership spread rapidly as something more prestigious and appealing than gang membership. Services offered were designed to meet changing conditions and various age groups as opposed to

tribal "package programming." This was a very informal, loosely knit organization at this point, but nonetheless effective. Public support continued to be provided willingly and in unrestricted form.

Conditions change fast when providing youth service programs. This eventually caused problems during the second year of operation. Parent expectations, distant schools, and the termination of tribal youth programs was placing new and challenging demands on the administration of the Boys Club of Oneida. The Board of Directors and its various committees were not prepared to meet the increased public demand for more quality services to a greater population, particularly with the limited financial resources available. Little help was provided by the national organization, partly due to its reluctance to interfere in local issues. Consequently, it was necessary to find additional private and unrestricted funding as well as to generate additional revenue. It was also necessary to hire additional personnel, formalize existing committees, adopt personnel policies, make its financial management systems more sophisticated, and adopt long range plans for future operation.

This transition period caused a turnover in board members and the dysfunction of key committees. It also resulted in the loss of the Executive Director, who was unwilling to operate in a more formalized atmosphere. The maintenance of the organization's credibility throughout this crisis was a serious issue and, in the face of this, a high risk decision was made.

After a seemingly endless search for a new director, the decision was made to hire a non-Indian. This was a critical decision that placed the organization in a difficult position with community relations. Despite this difficulty, it was a confident and unanimous decision as recommended by the personnel committee and voted on by the Board of Directors. The person selected had the skills and ability to accomplish what club members, parents, schools, and the national organization had come to expect.

Acceptance of the new director was understandably slow by both

residents and boys' club members. However, in time credibility was re-established and all aspects of the club began to move quite smoothly according to plan. The Boys Club of Oneida was accepted as a member agency of the United Way of Brown County, which provided sustained administrative funding. Once this was achieved other private foundations provided substantial support for innovative programs and qualified personnel.

Services changed from after-school and recreational activities to formalized efforts toward juvenile delinquency programming in cooperation with the Brown County's Sheriff's department, Indian parent advocacy programs with non-Indian school districts, sponsorship of numerous public events, and surprisingly, joint efforts with selected tribal programs.

By February 1975 an official clubhouse was established with the help of private funding and the tribe's Indian Action Team program. With the acquisition and improvement of property, the financial security of the Boys Club of Oneida was definitely improved. For the succeeding two years public support broadened to include the cooperation of various tribal programs, which included the performance of services on a fee basis. Financial stability without federal funds was now a *fait accompli* that was once thought of as impossible.

There are several reasons why the Boys Club of Oneida is considered to be a successful organization. To identify those reasons it is necessary to recall the formative years, the period of institutional change toward formalism, and the period of multi-service and total community involvement.

The formative years were most crucial in providing a sound foundation in terms of purpose, goals, and objectives. The decision of its initial administrators to remain autonomous of tribal government and without federal funding proved to be important toward building a community based and community controlled organization. The lack of federal funding and control allowed the organization to provide for the stated needs of the affected population, as opposed to the perceived needs as stated by local politicians and patronage

workers, and the bureaucrats in federal agencies. Under this philosophy it was easier to meet rapidly changing and complex conditions in the community, which required an unusual amount of organizational and administrative flexibility. The emphasis was not on "package programs" and bureaucratic power, but on the ability to meet changing needs.

Institutional change toward formalism was indeed a period of crisis. Committees were becoming less functional and less capable of handling the difficult tasks of long term planning, fund raising, personnel policies, etc. The business approach to non-profit corporate management was an experience of only a few board members and was a drastic change for those only familiar with program management. Furthermore, much needed public support in terms of community input and volunteer assistance was difficult to maintain with the loss of the Executive Director.

Multi-service and total community involvement was the product of the organization's struggle for survival. Despite initial personnel and support handicaps, the Boys Club of Oneida became a sophisticated and formal organization. Personnel policies were standardized, long term plans were carefully drawn up and formalized, and performance standards for multi-service effectiveness were adopted. More importantly, the Boys Club of Oneida no longer depended entirely on key persons for important decisions or for survival. As economic and human resources improved, committees became more actively involved and included more technically skilled members from within the community.

The Boys Club of Oneida was the very first organization on the reservation to be completely independent of Tribal Government. Its ability to remain that way was strengthened by formal affiliation with the Boys Club of America which imposed considerable standards on organizational structure, performance in meeting community interests, and Board of Director membership. The acceptance of national standards was a new experience for tribal members who had little previous exposure to non-Tribal influence.

To this day the Boys Club of Oneida continues to operate on the basis of local individual support without federal funding, and on a flexible multi-service approach (1979). Its Board of Directors currently enjoys a status equivalent to the Tribal Council in terms of a public policy making body that has impact on the community.

THEORETICAL COMPLEXITIES OF URBAN INDIAN EDUCATION

LOUIS DELGADO

Urban American Indian communities are continually faced with a myriad of complex issues and problems within the educational arena. These are encountered at all levels of the educational ladder from pre-school through college and they require carefully developed solutions by those involved. Urban Indian communities have demonstrated a willingness to meet the challenge and have ardently pursued their goals of meaningful and relevant educational models.

Indian educational programs in the nation's cities are relatively new, having begun in the early 1970s. Therefore, community people are continuously questioning themselves. What is needed? What works? In addition to their own questions, they confront laws and local educational policies which were likely formed from theory espoused by universities and educators who have little or no experience with Indian educational concerns and practices. Some of the most cherished concepts of the day may have little or no applicability to Indian educational models. Hence, they pose an additional set of problems when viewed from the Indian perspective.

A major issue confronted by urban Native American communities

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in their drive to develop special programs is whether to operate in or out of the public school system or educational structure. This issue has far reaching effects into the development of urban Indian education. In this article consideration is given for and against each choice. Within this question are numerous problems requiring difficult decisions to be made by the local community. Some of them are in direct conflict with non-Indian theoretical beliefs and practices.

IN OR OUT OF THE SYSTEM

A major issue confronted by urban Indian communities when considering the development of a school program has been whether they should develop their own community controlled and operated school, or try to work within the public system. Lengthy discussions have been experienced throughout the country with plenty of good reasoning supporting each choice of direction. Among the arguments voiced against working within the local school system, also called the Local Educational Agency (LEA), have been: The public school system is not overly concerned about the special needs of Indian children due to the limited Indian student population. Personnel policy recommendations made by Indians are not accepted by the LEA. The innovations needed in the curriculum and testing procedures are in conflict with established programs. The list of opposing points goes on and on.

Many of these concerns are legitimate factors which can be very discouraging. The rules and regulations of any organization or bureaucracy exist in part to protect it against change that threatens the overall structure of the system. When special consideration for Indian programs has been sought a frequent response given by the system has been, "If we do it for you, then we have to do it for everyone else too." Thus, many good ideas have been stifled by this refusal to bend.

Those deterrents have to be weighed against two obvious reasons for working within the system. First, the LEAs have an obligation

by nature of their public responsibility to serve the Indian communities in the best possible manner. Second, they have the resources to implement and support special programs if they wish.

It is true that many of the changes urged by the Indian communities would be considered radical by most city school boards. However, understanding the dark history of Native American education in this country, changes are mandated.

Administrators of programs within the public educational system have also found themselves in a strained position. They are caught between what the community has determined as priority issues and the rules and regulations of the system. This often means walking a shaky tightrope between the two, trying to satisfy both.

The development of the Indian Education Act has attempted to satisfy both sides. Funds can go directly to community controlled and operated schools or to the public school systems. Under Part A of the act LEAs receive Indian education funds on a per capita basis, provided they are able to meet certain requirements. Significant community involvement is supposed to be a major factor.

Utilizing the benefits of this act, many urban areas and their local school boards have found it advantageous to develop Indian programs within the public school network. Some have grown to become model programs, others have failed following a short life span. Of major importance to program growth is how much support is given by the LEA. Support in terms of teacher positions, supportive staff, equipment, technical assistance, adequate facilities, etc., can mean the difference between success and failure. Without this additional support there is little hope of developing an effective program within the system.

The array of multiple factors involved in making a decision to work within or outside of the public school network can be overwhelming. The choice is not an easy one but has to be made by urban Indian communities according to their individual needs, desires and goals.

With the great pressures being exerted by the federal government and civic groups to desegregate the schools, urban Indian communities are presented with serious obstacles in developing their educational programs. Local school boards are extremely cautious about promoting a program which could be construed as a racially segregated endeavor. Some have refused completely to accept money for a "special" Indian program. Communities have then been forced either to operate outside of the system or alter their programs to comply with school board requirements.

In the past decade Indian communities have begun to support the utilization of Indian teachers in Indian classrooms. The belief is that as a result additional student support mechanisms will develop. Further, with this special assistance the students will acquire the strength, capabilities and understanding needed to compete and function in local societies. This would satisfy those who claim that Indian programs only promote Indian segregation.

This move toward the Indian classroom has not been overly welcomed by the LEAs. The "educational experts" feel this is surely contrary to desegregation mandates. They have held fast to their stand that Indian cohesiveness cannot contribute to their eventual participation in the non-Indian world.

Due to strong debate over the desegregation issue Indian communities working within the LEA have introduced various program alterations to limit their vulnerability against segregation charges. Programs now exist in which Indian students spend various amounts of time in Indian classroom settings. For example, the Chicago community fosters a program, "O-Wai-Ya-Wa." This offers a part time elementary classroom setting through which Native American students are able to participate in an Indian centered instructional program for part of the school day. During that time they receive specialized instruction supplementary to their total academic program. This support has led to a marked increase in the participation of Indian students in the total public school program. In one particular public school which has supported and been a part of the O-Wai-Ya-Wa effort for

several years, Indian students have won major school achievement awards over the past two years.

The integration-segregation issue has not only been limited to the students. It has been carried to the staffs of urban school systems. Educational programs with all Indian teachers are **subjected** to scrutiny by those enforcing desegregation guidelines. The communities are once again pressed to justify their rationale for Indian programs utilizing Indian instructors.

The various program designs have their own sources of origin. However, they have been significantly affected by the integration-segregation issue. The major concern here is the extent to which the programs had to be altered for self-protection and continuation. It is unfortunate that many of the attackers of Indian educational programs have little or no understanding of the history, needs, and current problems of Indian education.

In conclusion, the theoretical and practical complexities encountered by urban Indian communities are manifold. It is extremely difficult to challenge theories and practices which have been long standing or have gained national acceptance. Many of the existing educational theories espoused by colleges, universities and public school systems have been developed without the slightest inclination as to how they will affect American Indians. This is not to say that all of them are contrary to Indian needs and concerns. **However**, when the community's goal dictates that another form of education is needed the legitimacy of its present practices must be questioned.

Indian communities and educators have been pressured to make concessions; however, they can ill afford to make too many. Each community must weigh the importance of each of the issues and decide which ones need to be confronted. The community's ultimate goals must be continually nurtured and pursued.

A CRITICAL REVIEW OF CEREMONY BY LESLIE M. SILKO¹

ELLEN PRUE

Ceremony is concerned with the hopelessness of human experience of the World War II veterans on the Pueblo reservation and their discovery of what is real or true. So that the false can be distinguished from the true, the author recreates an image of the American Indian through the impassioned story of Tayo and his private war against insanity and the victory he won at last by his stubborn, courageous refusal to submit. The author sets up barriers by which that image can be tested. To move effectively against those barriers, Tayo seeks to reclaim his faith in the ability of the human will.

The story sets loose conflicts of mental struggle resulting from World War II where American Indians were treated the same as anyone. They received the same medals for bravery, the same flag over the coffin, and respect as fellow Americans. After the war was over, these Indian veterans met constant frustration. That feeling of belonging to America was taken away again.

Silko tells us that these conflicts in us and outside of us are not ultimately defeating. These conflicts of will, inner and

¹Leslie Marmon Silko, Ceremony: The Viking Press, New York; 1977.

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outer, can be quieted through the curing effects of ceremonies. She writes, "The chanting or telling of ancient stories to effect certain cures or protect from illness and harm have always been part of the Pueblo's curing ceremonies." Why the telling of ancient stories in a ceremony has a curing effect is a little hard to understand, but it is the belief that the properly trained will is capable of anything. All of the things associated with ceremonial rituals, such as circles, triangles, rattles and Eagle's claws, are merely aids to concentrate the will of the medicine man into a stream of power and energy. The power in rituals is the trained will of the medicine man.

When reading Ceremony and the mythological poems, we begin to realize that man gives himself up to sickness and death only through the weakness of his feeble will. Silko makes this point clear in the mythological poem about the gambler who gained power over his victims because of their weak will to resist. "... and when they started gambling with him they did not stop until they lost everything they owned. And when they were naked and he had everything he'd say, 'I tell you what; since I'm so good and generous I'll give you one last chance. See that rawhide bag hanging on the north wall over there? If you can guess what is in that bag I'll give you back all your clothes and beads and everything I have here too --- these feather blankets, all these strings of coral beads, these fine white buckskin moccasins. But if you don't guess right you lose your life.' ... So they usually said 'okay' but they never guessed what was in the bag...."

Poignant and painful as this novel is, the reader will ask the hard question: What creeping corruption had changed these Indians into the self-hating or otherwise mad human beings they had become? When did it begin? With the white man? Under the recurrent battering of daily life, Tayo's struggle from his illness may help American Indians to manage tolerance and charity towards one another, which is the only hope of drowning out that dislike of their fellows that marks their own self-hatred and despair.

Tayo, a young halfbreed American Indian, responds to the dilemmas of life with a return to an ancient worship. In the pages of

Ceremony we find hopelessness and despair in the lives of Tayo and another veteran from the Laguna Reservation after their return home from World War II. Tayo is haunted by the horrors he experienced while a prisoner of the Japanese. Scenes and memories of dead Japanese soldiers on the battlefield remind him of his own people. Through a series of flashbacks and reminiscences the author leads us through events of the war that led to Tayo's illness. For example: "When the sergeant told them to kill all the Japanese soldiers lined up in front of the cave with their hands on their heads, Tayo could not pull the trigger. In that instant he saw his uncle Josiah standing there. Tayo stood there while they fired at the soldiers, and he watched his uncle fall. They made him look at the corpse and said, 'Tayo, this is a Jap! This is a Jap uniform!' And then they rolled the body over with a boot and said, 'Look, Tayo, look at the face,' and that was when Tayo started screaming because it wasn't a Jap it was Josiah." They called it battle fatigue, and they said hallucinations were common. "It was impossible for the dead man to be Josiah, because Josiah was an old Laguna man, thousands of miles from the Philipian jungles and Japanese armies." Often weak and in great pain, undergoing treatments in hospitals that he dreaded, his will to live brought him back to the ancient ceremonies of his past traditions.

If we could make sense of the evil we cause to one another, some way to graph pain and suffering, living would be a neater business. Lacking such an exact science of the emotions, we turn to stories, mythology and legends, for maps of human hurt. A story cannot make us wise. All men and women have to learn what they can of that evasive inner wisdom through their own foolishness and suffering. Ceremony illustrates very well that a story may provide us glimpses of the difficult complexities of life and our relationship to its past, its present, and its future as we make our course of life on earth. Those things that perplex or terrify us may be illuminated or made bearable through the vision of the rational and feeling human being who has the capacity to look into the darkness and see clearly what is not visible to others in the daylight.

In respinning the age-old legends of the Pueblos, Silko introduces ideas about the magical relationship between cosmos, earth, and man. To some minds it is very difficult to accept the existence of any kind of magic as a reality. But the Pueblos were concerned with raising their consciousness by means of rituals to an awareness of evil. The basic concept behind all rituals is a belief in a correspondence between the universe and man. The Indian soul is strong in the understanding of the relationship between heaven and earth, which appears at the very heart of American Indian mythology.

We learn a little more and we understand more of American Indian relationships with a return to an ancient worship. The simplicity of the writing, the remarkable style and energy with which all is executed in Ceremony must be admired.

One doesn't have the feeling of use, or of manipulation by the writer for any purpose other than the honest determining of the causes and effects of every day life on the reservation and the importance of stories to cure us of our madness.

Ceremony is a solid piece of work and it deserves to be recognized. Other stories written by Leslie Marmon Silko have appeared in many magazines. She is also a widely published poet. She grew up on the Laguna Pueblo Reservation, and is of mixed ancestry -- Laguna Pueblo, Mexican, and White.